

## Mediator Between Cultures: Tasuku Harada and Hawaiian-Japanese Intercultural Relations in the 1920s

TASUKU HARADA (1863–1940), though only slightly remembered today, was a well-known and respected figure in Honolulu in the 1920s. He joined the faculty at the University of Hawai'i in 1921, immediately after the school became a full-fledged university, and held the professorship of Japanese history, literature, and language.<sup>1</sup> While teaching at the university, he engaged in many international activities. He was a key Hawai'i member of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR), whose pioneering work in prewar internationalism is slowly coming to light.<sup>2</sup> He participated in Pan-Pacific Union conferences in Honolulu, as well as many international educational and religious conferences elsewhere.

As a leader in Honolulu's Japanese community, then the largest ethnic group in the Islands, Harada served as its link to the city's white elite. As a teacher, scholar, religious leader, and Christian gentleman, he earned the respect of people who came to know him. Upon his retirement from the university in 1932, he was presented with an honorary LL.D. degree. University President David Crawford spoke of him "as a conspicuous figure of international understanding and good-

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will" and "interpreter of East to the West" through whose work thousands of people had gotten a better understanding of Japan.<sup>3</sup>

Harada came to Honolulu from Japan at age fifty-seven and left at age sixty-nine.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, his work helped to implant, among the students he taught and the members of the community he met, a consciousness that they participated in a wider Pacific world that transcended the narrow geographical boundaries of the Hawaiian Islands.

Harada was one of the rare Japanese of the Meiji era who acquired the necessary linguistic, social, and professional skills to participate productively in international society. This article aims to illuminate this extraordinary life.<sup>5</sup> We first sketch his upbringing in Meiji Japan, outline his career as a Christian educator, and relate the circumstances that brought him to Hawai'i. We discuss his contributions to the development of Japanese studies at the university, his relations with notable Japanese community leaders in Honolulu; and his pioneering work dealing with Pacific intercultural relations during the 1920s.<sup>6</sup>

#### BACKGROUND IN MEIJI JAPAN

Tasuku Harada was born to a samurai family, the Kamadas, who served the local daimyo in what is today's Kumamoto Prefecture in Western Japan. Having an elder brother who could carry on their family lineage, he was adopted out to another samurai family, the Haradas, to be their family's heir.<sup>7</sup> Growing up in the late Tokugawa period, he imbibed the typical Confucian value system with its emphasis on honor, loyalty, righteousness, and filial piety. In later life, he would tirelessly stress these Bushido warrior virtues in his writings and lectures.

Though considered a backwater in Japan today, in Harada's childhood days the Kumamoto area was awakening to the new ideas and institutions flowing in from the West. Sensing an urgent need for training in Western technology, the daimyo started a Western-style school and invited a former American military officer, Captain Leroy Lancing Janes, a veteran of the Civil War, to teach the youth of the domain English as well as military-related subjects. Janes, however, taught not only English and military tactics but Christianity as well.<sup>8</sup>

The latter religion had been banned in Japan for more than two hundred years and was still hated by most of the populace. His zealotry in teaching Christianity, thus, was not welcomed. He was soon driven to resign his post, but not before he had converted a number of his young students, who, in a famous incident on the top of Mount Hanaoka, swore that they would follow the teachings of the Master, despite the grave consequences.<sup>9</sup>

This little group of young men—today known as the Kumamoto Band—left their rural home and moved to Kyoto in 1877. There they studied under the tutelage of Jo Nijima, a charismatic individual who had fled Japan in the feudal period, worked his way to America, studied at Amherst Theological Seminary, and became the first ordained Japanese Christian minister. Upon his return to Japan, he founded his school, Doshisha College in Kyoto.<sup>10</sup>

Nijima's influence on these youth was profound. Though in later years many would disavow his brand of Christianity and his mode of propagation—particularly his ties with American missionaries—they revered his strength of character and power of resolve in the face of adversity. From this group sprang men such as Danjo Ebina, Tsuneteru Miyagawa, Hiromichi Kozaki, and Soho Tokutomi, individuals who would rank among the leaders of the intellectual and spiritual life of Meiji and Taisho Japan.<sup>11</sup>

Harada, though not a part of the "Mount Hanaoka group," developed close friendships with many members. After studying English at a local school in Kumamoto, he followed them to Doshisha. Like his older Kumamoto friends, he was greatly influenced by the personality and character of Nijima, with whom he formed a deep relationship. His first book in English, *Faith of Japan*, opens with the following dedication: "In Memory of My Teacher and Predecessor, Joseph Hardy Neejima—Educator, Patriot, and Christian."<sup>12</sup> Under Nijima's influence, he received baptism in 1881. After finishing middle school at Doshisha, he continued in Doshisha's Theological School, from which he graduated in 1884. The following year, he was ordained and admitted into the Congregational Church of Japan.<sup>13</sup>

Although only twenty-two, Harada was offered the pastorship of the Kobe Church, which he served until 1888. Feeling inadequate about his intellectual and spiritual development, Harada decided to further

his study in the United States. He attended the University of Chicago Theological School for six months before transferring to the Divinity School at Yale University. He studied at New Haven for two years and graduated with a bachelor of divinity degree in 1890.<sup>14</sup>

Returning home after three years of study abroad, Harada engaged in different lines of work within Japan's small Christian community, serving as pastor at several different churches, including the Bancho Church in Tokyo and the Heian Church in Kyoto as well as the Kobe Church. He also worked as an editor and writer for Christian-related publications between 1895 and 1907 and served as head of several important Christian organizations. As part of his duties with the latter groups, he made several trips abroad, one in 1900 to represent Japan at the World Student Federation Conference and another in 1905, when, accompanied by President Sakunoshin Motoda of the Meiji Gakuen Academy, he toured India for two months under the auspices of the Indian YMCA, lecturing and preaching.<sup>15</sup>

#### DOSHISHA AND THE HAWAIIAN CONNECTION

Encouraged by many of his supporters, Harada left Kobe Church in 1907 to serve as Doshisha College's seventh president. During his twelve-year tenure, the college grew into a major university. He directed this expansion, which involved the addition of faculties of political economy, English, and theology, as well as the start of a special School for Women, offering courses of study in English literature and home economics. Student enrollment nearly tripled, providing the institution with a solid financial base.<sup>16</sup>

Reflecting Harada's educational philosophy, the growing university stressed international goodwill and cultural exchange. He frequently arranged for notable personalities—usually widely traveled Japanese and foreigners from different walks of life—to lecture at Doshisha, thus fostering in the students' minds germinal ideas about the wider world beyond Japan. However, he had his enemies. In the summer of 1917 he became embroiled in a controversy that culminated with his resignation in January 1919. Strong criticism of his policies by traditionalists who deplored his international Christian activities and his support for missionary work was central to this dispute.<sup>17</sup>

Harada's connections to Hawai'i developed during his tenure as Doshisha president. In 1909, William R. Castle, a prominent Honolulu business, civic, and religious leader, visited Japan and included Kyoto in his travel itinerary.<sup>18</sup> Castle knew Mary Denton, a missionary teaching at the Doshisha School for Women. Denton invited Castle to the school, where Harada and his staff welcomed him warmly, and the two men formed an acquaintanceship.<sup>19</sup> Brief though it was, this initial connection provided the first link in a long chain of events that would bring Harada into the Hawaiian community twelve years later.

Harada's first visit to Hawai'i came two years after his initial meeting with Castle. He had been selected to represent Japan's Christians at the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland, during the second week of June 1910.<sup>20</sup> To attend this historic ecumenical meeting, Harada crossed Eurasia on the Trans-Siberian railway, stopping en route for a day-long visit with the famed Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy.<sup>21</sup> At the Edinburgh conference, the largest of its kind to date, with more than a thousand participants, problems of promoting Christianity throughout the world were discussed. Though dominated by Christians from Europe and North America, a few Asians and Africans were prominently featured. Harada was honored at the proceedings by the conferral of the doctor of law degree from Edinburgh University. A few days later, he spoke on the subject, "Contribution of Non-Christian Races to the Body of Christ."<sup>22</sup>

After spending two weeks in London, Harada sailed on board the s.s. *Saxonia* for Boston, arriving on July 14, 1910. He spent the summer in Worcester, Massachusetts, preparing for the Hartford-Lamson lectures, a distinguished lecture series given by an eminent person. He delivered eight addresses between September 22 and October 7. During October and November, he traveled on the East Coast meeting people and lecturing on Japan at Yale, Cornell, Harvard, and Amherst. The latter school, his mentor Jo Nijima's alma mater, awarded him an honorary doctor of divinity degree, his second such award that year.<sup>23</sup>

Harada spent December and January traveling across the United States before embarking for Japan. His old acquaintance, William Castle, had suggested that he stop by Hawai'i on his way home. Two weeks before he arrived in Honolulu, Harada's visit was announced in the

*Nippu Jiji*, one of Hawai'i's Japanese-language newspapers. And on his arrival on February 3, the paper carried an article listing his curriculum vitae.<sup>24</sup> In Honolulu, Harada was a guest at the home of Doremus Scudder (1858–1942), pastor of Central Union Church and a former missionary for the American Board of Missions in Japan.<sup>25</sup>

Harada intended his stopover in Hawai'i as a vacation, but being the prominent man that he was, he was asked upon arrival to lecture to Japanese Christians in Honolulu. He agreed to do so. The lecture was titled "The Strong Points of Peoples East and West" and was given at the Nu'uaniu Japanese School.<sup>26</sup> After a week's stay, he sailed for Japan. Doshisha's records show for that year a large donation was received from William R. Castle. Both he and the Reverend William Westervelt (1849–1939), a well-known Christian leader and noted author of Hawaiian folktales, are listed as "friends of Doshisha."<sup>27</sup>

Following his resignation from Doshisha University in May 1919, Harada embarked on a lecture tour to Europe and the United States.<sup>28</sup> En route, he stopped off in Honolulu on May 27. Newspaper articles again noted the details of his brief stay. At the dock, he was met by the Reverend Westervelt; Teiichi Hori, pastor of the Nu'uaniu Christian Church; and Takie Okumura, pastor of the Makiki Christian Church. Both Hori and Okumura were graduates of Doshisha Theological School. Harada was then taken on a tour of the Nu'uaniu Pali and later visited Japanese Consul General Rokuro Moroi. In the evening, he spoke to an audience of some eighty *nikkeijin* on the topic "Recent Events in Japan." He also reacquainted himself with Yasutaro Soga, publisher of the *Nippu Jiji*, whom he had met earlier when the latter visited Doshisha in 1915 to attend the fortieth anniversary of its founding.<sup>29</sup>

The brief visit was fortuitous. The Hawaiian Evangelical Association was making plans to commemorate its one hundredth anniversary in propagating Christianity in Hawai'i during the following year.<sup>30</sup> The planning committee for the commemoration included Castle, who served as its general chairman, and Scudder, by then retired as pastor of Central Union Church, who served as executive director. Since both of these men were old acquaintances of Harada, they saw to it that he was invited to the celebration as one of the key speakers.

Harada accepted the invitation and, at the conclusion of his lecture

tour, returned to Hawai'i aboard the *Korea*. He arrived in Honolulu on April 5, just in time for the Hawai'i Evangelical Week—proclaimed by Governor Charles McCarthy for April 11–18—which began with prayers, speeches and celebrations.

Harada gave one lecture during the week, the only non-Caucasian to do so. His participation was symbolic as well as timely.<sup>32</sup> The Islands were then in the midst of the Second O'ahu Sugar Strike, in which six thousand Japanese immigrant workers were engaged in a fierce struggle with sugar planters to improve their lot. Perhaps he was enlisted to assure the Honolulu elites that the Islands were a model of harmony despite the harsh economic realities. This labor dispute resulted in a defeat for the strikers, but its consequences were many, not the least for Harada, who was but a disinterested bystander at the time.<sup>33</sup> However, the problems of the Japanese in Hawai'i would later become a major concern for him.

Finishing his lecture and other duties for the Hawaii Evangelical Association, Harada prepared to leave Honolulu for Japan on the first available ship. He had received an urgent message from his wife to return home immediately as their third daughter, Akiko, was critically ill. However, on April 21, a few days before he was to leave, he received a totally unanticipated missive: an offer from University of Hawai'i President Arthur L. Dean of the professorship of Japanese studies. Asking for time to consider, Harada returned home to Kyoto and pondered the offer for a month. Finally, on May 23, 1920, he telegraphed Dean that he would accept and that he would return with his family to commence his courses during the fall semester.<sup>34</sup>

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF JAPANESE STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

Although not the first, the University of Hawai'i was one of the first American institutions of higher learning to offer Japanese language and culture courses.<sup>35</sup> Yale University, as early as 1906, had hired Kanichi Asakawa, a native Japanese who had received his Ph.D. there, to teach Japanese history, and he continued to do so for the next forty years.<sup>36</sup> Stanford University in 1913, using funds provided by the Japanese government, appointed Yamato Ichihashi, an immigrant

Japanese who had received his training at Harvard, to teach Japan-related courses.<sup>37</sup> The University of Chicago Extension Department allowed Toyokichi Iyenaga, a Johns Hopkins Ph.D., to offer some courses on Japan for a few years, although it did not offer him a tenured position.<sup>38</sup> A few universities and colleges followed suit later in the decade and during the 1920s, but the number remained a trickle. By the 1930s, Harvard and Columbia began their programs and trained such illustrious scholars as E. O. Reischauer and Donald Keene, but these schools were exceptions.<sup>39</sup> Throughout the pre-World War II period, Japanese would remain a rarity; the field did not come into its own until after the war.

In light of this, the University of Hawai'i's decision to promote Japanese studies—as well as a companion Chinese studies program—reveal a good deal of foresight on the part of its administrators. The school had just undergone a major transformation. It was granted a charter, by an act of the Hawai'i territorial legislature, to change its name, effective July 1, 1920, from the College of Hawai'i to the University of Hawai'i.<sup>40</sup> It had been established in 1907 as a land-grant college with a curriculum based on the mechanical arts. This laid the groundwork for expanding the school into a full-fledged university. The teaching staff of eighteen faculty was immediately increased to forty, and the Board of Regents was also increased from five members to seven.<sup>41</sup>

University officials, highly conscious of Hawai'i's large Asian population, felt early on that courses in Japanese and Chinese were necessary. In 1920, Japanese constituted more than 40 percent of the total population in the territory, many of whom were nisei just coming of age.<sup>42</sup> Adding Japanese language and cultural courses to the curriculum, thus, was given high priority. At the April 1, 1920, meeting of the Board of Regents, President Dean had requested and received approval to add a professorship in Japanese studies to the faculty.<sup>43</sup>

It is not known whether Dean had Harada in mind for the Japanese post or whether his appointment was due to his coincidental arrival at just the moment the university was seeking someone to teach Japanese studies. Available evidence indicates that the former was the case: that the UH position was created with him specifically in mind. His coming to Hawai'i was known for several months prior



by the Hawaiian Evangelical Board, and Dean was an officer of that organization for many years.<sup>44</sup> There he mingled with Castle and Scudder, who, as noted above, were old acquaintances of Harada. Another fact that supports this view is that Harada's first-year university salary was partially paid with Hawaii Evangelical Association funds. Only in his second year did the Board of Regents approve his full professorial salary of \$4,200 per annum.<sup>45</sup>

Whatever the full truth about Harada's appointment, what can be said with more certainty is that, considering the paucity of individuals qualified to teach such courses, Dean and his associates were surely delighted at having someone of Harada's reputation and record come so unexpectedly within their ken. It should be noted that hiring new personnel at the university then was not the complicated process that it is today. Power to hire faculty lay almost entirely in the hands of the president, who could freely appoint anyone whom he felt qualified.<sup>46</sup> The Board of Regents' approval was necessary for professorial appointments, but it was small, all its members knew each other well, and it was content to leave such matters in the hands of the president.

To appreciate Dean's problems in finding a candidate for the new position, it is instructive to put the circumstances of Japanese studies in prewar American universities into some perspective. Japanese studies, as noted above, was not yet an academic discipline, so finding qualified personnel to teach such courses, particularly language, was not easy. Harada himself received professional training only for the Christian ministry. Thus, by today's standards, it can be argued that he did not qualify for the job. But in 1920, Harada's 1910 honorary degrees from Edinburgh and Amherst universities were considered proper academic credentials.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, his proven accomplishments as an educational administrator in Japan buttressed the case for his appointment.

Harada arrived in Honolulu in August 1920 with his wife and four of his children, but he was unable to teach his classes as originally planned. Other business had unexpectedly come up. Before he left for Hawai'i, he was called to Tokyo by Eiichi Shibusawa, founder and sponsor of the Japan America Relations Committee, who requested that he undertake an important task for the committee regarding the

status of Japanese living on the U.S. mainland.<sup>48</sup> Hence fall-semester classes in Japanese language, history, and literature had to be taught by a substitute, Umetaro Okumura, eldest son of the Reverend Takie Okumura and a graduate of Yale University.<sup>49</sup>

Leaving his family in Honolulu, Harada traveled to California to begin an intensive investigation. For four months, he traveled across the United States, gathering data on the anti-Japanese movement that was becoming a serious diplomatic issue between the United States and Japan.<sup>50</sup> After finishing his field survey, he returned to Japan for four days in December to submit his survey report to Shibusawa and the Japan America Relations Committee.<sup>51</sup> That completed, he again boarded ship to return to Hawai'i, arriving in January 1921 in time to teach his spring-semester classes.

Harada's teaching load included a course in Japanese language (three hours a week), Japanese literature (two hours a week), and Japanese history (two hours a week). Japanese history, his most popular course, had twenty students the first year. He started his coverage with the period when Commodore Matthew Perry opened Japan and continued through the vicissitudes of the Meiji Restoration. His students were from various ethnic backgrounds and included a number of female students. Japanese literature had ten students, all but one of whom were second-generation *nikkei*. His text for this course was *Shizen to Jinsei* (Nature and Life) by Roka Tokutomi, a popular contemporary writer. The Japanese language class attracted fifteen students, nine of Chinese background, five Caucasians, and one Korean.<sup>52</sup>

Harada taught these courses for the next ten years and in 1929 added another course titled History of Eastern Religions. It covered the religions of India, China, and Japan and was taught during summer sessions.<sup>53</sup> Because the enrollment in Japanese language had increased significantly, with elementary, intermediate, and advanced levels being offered, another instructor, George Tadao Kunimoto, a Japanese immigrant who had graduated from the Oberlin Theological School and was an ordained minister, was hired in 1929 to teach language with Harada.<sup>54</sup> The following year, Harada and Kunimoto published their own language textbook, *Introduction to Colloquial Japanese*. It was the first of a long-line of such textbooks the university would publish.<sup>55</sup>

Harada was particularly close to his *nikkei* students, whom he frequently invited to his home on Rocky Hill near campus and always feted with a graduation-day party. In 1925, he conceived a plan with Yasutaro Soga to start a "Japanese Language Research Club." He and Soga served as advisors and, alternating, held monthly meetings at their homes. Several dozen students regularly attended as the meetings provided an opportunity to study Japanese as well as a place to socialize and make friends.<sup>56</sup>

Of the many *nikkei* students who passed through Harada's classes, two individuals, who would become his successors at the university, deserve special mention here. The first is Shunzo Sakamaki, who was born in 1906, the third son of Tosaburo Sakamaki, an *issei* from Hiro-saki, Japan. Settling in Keeau on the Big Island of Hawai'i, the elder Sakamaki became a translator at the Olaa Plantation. His son Shunzo graduated from Hilo High School in 1923 and enrolled at the University of Hawai'i that fall. An impressive speaker, he made a name for himself while in high school. In a government-sponsored speech contest, he won first place and received \$100 prize money. His topic: "Why did America Become a 'Dry Country.'" <sup>57</sup>

Sakamaki excelled at the university. He became editor-in-chief of the student paper and took part in many campus activities where he demonstrated his flair for public speaking. For example, at the Balboa Day banquet, held under the auspices of the Pan Pacific Federation during his junior year, he competed in a speech contest involving many participants from different countries around the Pacific. Addressing the theme "A Pacific Nation's Historical Event," he delivered a speech, titled "The Most Important Event in the History of Japan as a Modern Nation" and won first-place laurels.<sup>58</sup>

He also played the lead role of Lord Asano in the University Drama Club's performance of the play *The Faithful*, written by the English playwright John Masefield based on the classic Japanese kabuki *Chushingura* (The 47 Ronin).<sup>59</sup> This was the first of a number of kabuki performances staged by the Drama Club over the years. The stage, the setting, and the costumes were taken completely from the Japanese original. Only the dialogue was in English. The play was an overwhelming success and was repeated the following year.<sup>60</sup> While enjoying his variegated student life, he maintained outstanding grades and

received special permission to graduate in February rather than in June 1927. This allowed him to enter the graduate program, which he completed in little more than a year. Under the guidance of Professors Harada, Libric, and Parker, he completed his M.A. degree with a thesis titled "A History of the Japanese Press in Hawaii." Shortly thereafter, he was appointed as a "student professor" at Doshisha University.<sup>61</sup>

Sakamaki was at Doshisha for three years and returned to Hawai'i in August 1931. While at Doshisha, he taught English in the Literature Department and also in the women's school. After returning to Hawai'i, he taught for two years at Mid-Pacific Institute. A few years after Harada's retirement, he was hired by the university to continue his mentor's courses. Not having a Ph.D. degree, he was encouraged by President David L. Crawford to continue his graduate studies. He enrolled at Columbia University and earned his Ph.D. degree in Japanese history in 1939. His dissertation was about Japanese-American relations before Commodore Perry. Returning to the university, he was subsequently promoted to assistant professor, associate professor, and, finally in 1953, full professor. For thirty-five years, until his retirement in 1971, he taught Japanese history at the university, and from 1955 until his retirement, he served as dean of the summer session. He died in 1973.<sup>62</sup>

Yukuo Ueyehara, another of Harada's prominent students, was born in Kumamoto Prefecture in 1905, the eldest son of Hidemasa Ueyehara. At age thirteen, he was called to Hawai'i by his father, then a Japanese language principal on the island of Kaua'i. Shortly afterward, his father passed away, and living at home with his widowed mother, he struggled to continue his education. He attended English and Japanese schools and, in 1923, graduated first in his class from Japanese middle school. In 1927 he graduated with top grades from Honolulu's McKinley High School and in September enrolled at the university. He worked his way through by teaching at the Kaimuki Japanese Language School and in his senior year received a Prince Fushimi Scholarship. He graduated in June 1931.<sup>63</sup>

Like Sakamaki, Ueyehara went to Japan soon after his graduation. But rather than going to Doshisha, Ueyehara enrolled in Waseda University to continue his study of Japanese literature. When Harada

retired in 1932, a vacant position was created and Uyehara was hired to fill it. Four years later, he received his M.A. degree from the university. He was promoted to associate professor in 1947. Five years later, he became chairman of the Department of Asian and Pacific Languages and was elevated to professor in 1957. He oversaw the Japanese language program and helped build it into one of the largest in the United States. He also authored a number of books and articles, among them, *Introduction to Japanese*, *Hawaii's Voice*, and *Nikkei Bunka*. While this article was being written, he passed away at his home in Honolulu's Mānoa Valley at age ninety-three.<sup>64</sup>

Mention should be made here of Harada's administrative work while at the university involving library development, arranging Japan-related lecturers, and promoting Japanese-American student exchanges. He unselfishly gave his energies to the building of the university library's Japanese collection. Using his personal connections in Japan, he was able to find important donors and supporters whom he asked for contributions to build a collection that, by the postwar years, ranked among the best in the United States.<sup>65</sup> He also relied on his contacts with influential people and institutions in Japan to help initiate and broaden the university's contact with Japanese scholars, and he arranged special short-term lecture visits. Japanese scholars who taught at the university as a result of his efforts include Professors Korokuro Nagase, Masamichi Royama, and Koki-chi Morimoto.<sup>66</sup>

Harada was also a central figure in the administration of two scholarship programs that linked Hawai'i to Japan in the prewar years, the Friend Peace Scholarship and the Prince Fushimi Scholarship.<sup>67</sup> The Friend Peace Scholarship was the brainchild of Theodore Richards, editor of *The Friend*, a publication of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association and an active proponent of Christian education in Honolulu. In 1911, while on a trip to Japan, Richards persuaded a group of influential Japanese educational leaders to support a Japanese-Hawai'i scholarship. A committee was formed in Tokyo whose officers included such prominent Japanese educators as Shigenobu Okuma, chairman; Jinzo Naruse, accountant; Sakunoshin Motoda, secretary; and Inazo Nitobe, examiner.<sup>68</sup> Initially, the scholarship focused on sending outstanding Japanese students to Hawai'i for their secondary

education. Chosen first were Iwao Ayusawa and Hayao Kashiwagi. Ayusawa later became a high-ranking diplomat, and served as director of the International Labor Organization. In the 1920s it was expanded to include sending Hawai'i nisei to Japan in an effort to further enhance future international friendship. With this ideal in mind, the Hawai'i Committee for the Friend Peace Scholarship was established with F. S. Scudder as chairman and David Crawford, Theodore Richards, and Tasuku Harada as members.<sup>69</sup>

The Prince Fushimi Scholarship has an even longer history. Its origins date back to a 1908 visit to Honolulu by Prince Fushimi of the royal family of Japan. At that time, he donated \$200 to the local Japanese community. The community leaders decided to use the money to start an educational trust fund. They obtained a charter, organized a steering committee under the leadership of Dr. Iga Mori, and conducted campaigns to build up the funds. This was then used to support needy nisei students in their educational quests. In 1922, the trust had established a \$300 scholarship at the university, and Harada served as a key member of the selection committee.<sup>70</sup>

#### COMMUNITY LEADER IN HONOLULU

Though Harada concentrated his energies on academic work, he forged many ties with the wider community. He gave his time to religious, educational, and social activities where his personal strengths and past experiences could be best utilized. Shortly after his arrival in Honolulu, he became an official in the Hawaiian Evangelical Association and served on numerous committees. He also lectured off-campus at the Honolulu Theological Seminary on Christian theology.<sup>71</sup>

Theology and Christian missions were his academic specialties. In his forties at Doshisha, he had published two books—*Iesu no Jidai* (The Life and Times of Jesus, 1907) and *Shinko to Riso* (Christian Faith, 1910)—in Japanese.<sup>72</sup> He also wrote many articles on related themes.<sup>73</sup> But at the University of Hawai'i, he produced no more than a few popular articles about Hawai'i, short pieces on Christianity, and conference papers for Institute of Pacific Relations meetings. The demands of teaching, administrative work, and numerous community activities permitted him little leisure to reflect and write.

Harada and his family joined Central Union Church soon after coming to Hawai'i. There he mingled with the business and political elite of the Islands. Though keeping close ties with the two Japanese Christian pastors in Honolulu—Teiichi Hori and Takie Okumura of the Nu'uano and Makiki Christian churches respectively—Harada did not identify himself with their churches. At a time when the Japanese in America were being criticized for not assimilating into mainstream society, Harada kept himself free from charges of exclusivism and cultural ethnocentrism.

The Harada children attended private schools rather than public schools, where most Japanese students went. His son studied at Iolani; and his youngest daughter, Miya, attended Punahou.<sup>74</sup> When Misao Harada, Tasuku's third daughter, married Dr. Motokazu Mori, their wedding, officiated by Pastors Perl and Hori, was attended by more than one thousand guests, including Hawai'i Governor Wallace R. Farrington, University of Hawai'i President Arthur L. Dean, and the Japanese Consul General, Chonosuke Yada.<sup>75</sup> Likewise, the marriage of Miya to Shigeo Soga in the summer of 1932 was a gala affair, held at Central Union Church, with more than a thousand guests.<sup>76</sup>

When Harada had arrived in the Islands in 1919, more than 40 percent of the population was Japanese. In a total population of 328,411, they numbered 129,901. Included in this figure were some 75,000 Hawai'i-born nisei.<sup>77</sup> The great majority of issei were unskilled agricultural laborers working on the sugar plantations. A few of the immigrants, however, were highly educated; they included merchants, journalists, doctors, lawyers, priests, and teachers. From this latter group came the leaders of the prewar Japanese community.<sup>78</sup>

Harada befriended a number of these Japanese leaders and joined them to promote social activities for the Japanese community. Three men, in particular, stand out. The first was Yasutaro Soga, publisher of the *Nippu Jiji*; the second was Iga Mori, a physician who had arrived in Hawai'i during the Hawaiian kingdom period; and the third, Takie Okumura, pastor of Makiki Christian Church.

An international history of pre-World War II Japanese in Hawai'i could be written around the lives of these men. They shared common experiences as Japanese pioneers in Hawai'i, something that profoundly shaped their outlook on life. In their core values, they



were proud Japanese who maintained a lifelong patriotic devotion to their mother country. Yet, in their deepest-held aspirations for the future of Hawai'i—particularly for the welfare of the upcoming second generation—they believed sincerely in the ideals and opportunities that America offered.

Yasutaro Soga was born in Tokyo in 1873. He immigrated to Hawai'i at age twenty-three after studying at the English Law Institute (now Chuo University). After working as a clerk and store manager in Wai'anae and Waipahu on O'ahu, and on the island of Moloka'i for a few years, he became a journalist. He served as assistant editor of the *Hawaii Shimpō*, an early Japanese-language paper, from 1899 to 1906 before being appointed editor of the *Yamato Shimbun*, predecessor of the *Nippu Jiji*. He subsequently purchased the *Nippu Jiji*, which he slowly built over the next two decades into the leading Japanese vernacular paper in the Islands. In 1919 he inaugurated an English-language section in the paper. In 1942 the name was changed to the *Hawaii Times*. Like a number of other Island Japanese leaders, he was interned on the mainland during the war years but returned to Hawai'i in 1945. In 1952, he compiled his recollections, interwoven with a history of the Japanese in Hawai'i, in an important book titled *Gojyu nen kan no Hawai kaiko* (A Fifty-Year Reminiscence of Hawai'i). He died in 1957.<sup>79</sup>

Soga ranks among the most influential of prewar Japanese in Hawai'i. He cast his shadow on nearly all significant events pertaining to relations between Japan and Hawai'i during these years, either as a protagonist—as in the Great Sugar Strike of 1909—or as an astute commentator who helped shape public opinion. Moreover, his leadership activities transcended Hawaiian affairs. He had made several tours of Asia and participated in a number of international events, among them the Pan-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco in 1915, the coronation of the Emperor Taisho in Kyoto in 1915, the Washington Conference on Naval Armaments in 1921, and the 2,600-Year Founding Day Celebrations in Tokyo in 1940. In Honolulu, he was a member of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, the Naturalization Committee, the Bishop Museum, and a number of other organizations.<sup>80</sup>

Despite Soga's importance, his life has attracted little scholarly



attention. His writings on controversial issues have been summarized in books dealing with the Japanese in Hawai'i, but no extensive treatment of his life or thought has been attempted.<sup>81</sup> At best, we get a fragmentary portrait. However, a collection of his poems, written during his internment, recently appeared in translation.<sup>82</sup>

Harada and Soga formed especially close personal ties. In addition to cooperating in public activities, in 1932, the year Harada left for Japan, they became related by marriage. As noted above, Harada's daughter Miya married Shigeo Soga, the elder Soga's first son. A graduate of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, the younger Soga later succeeded his father as editor and publisher of the *Hawaii Times*.<sup>83</sup>

Iga Mori, the second of Harada's close associates, was born in today's Ishikawa Prefecture. He was of samurai background. In the middle years of the Meiji Period, he graduated from the Naval Medical School in Tokyo and subsequently studied at medical schools in London, New York, and California. In 1892 he accepted a physician's post in the Bureau of Immigration in the Hawaiian kingdom. He resigned this position at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War to volunteer for service in Manchuria. After practicing in Japan, he returned permanently to Hawai'i in 1904 and remained there in private practice until his retirement. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Mori, like Soga and Okumura, was arrested and interned at Sand Island in Honolulu harbor. Because of his advanced age, however, he was released in 1943. He lived in retirement in Honolulu until his death in 1953.<sup>84</sup>

Like Soga, Mori occupies an indelible place in the history of Hawai'i's Japanese community. His contributions during his half-century residence are numerous. Most significant are his roles in the founding of the Japanese Hospital (today's Kuakini Hospital), which he served for many years as superintendent and later trustee; the Japanese Benevolent Society of Hawai'i; and the Japanese Medical Association of Hawai'i. He was the president of the latter for many years. Mori was also an official in the Pan-Pacific Union, the Nu'uano YMCA, and the Medical Society of Hawai'i. In the 1930s, he participated actively in the Hawai'i branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations.<sup>85</sup>

Despite Mori's prominence in prewar Hawaiian-Japanese affairs,

he is a largely forgotten figure today, rarely mentioned or appreciated. Yukiko Kimura's book *Issei* does not even list him in the index. Eileen Tamura mentions him twice, but only in passing and in the context of the "New American Movement," where his role was clearly subordinate to that of the Reverend Okumura.<sup>86</sup>

A major reason why Mori has been overlooked by today's third-generation Japanese American scholars is that he did not leave any public writings. Unlike Soga and Okumura, who left books, newspaper and magazine articles, and other documents to posterity, Mori's work remained only in the memories of men with whom he worked or otherwise influenced.<sup>87</sup> Though older histories of Japanese in Hawai'i do mention him, these books, written in Japanese, are not easily accessible to today's scholars, who rely primarily on English-language sources. Recently Dr. Victor Mori, his grandson, released diaries that Iga had kept for more than thirty-five years. These will prove invaluable to future researchers seeking to illuminate the life and thought of this historically important man.<sup>88</sup>

Harada's relationship with Mori, as with Soga, transcended the social and fraternal. About a year after coming to Hawai'i, Harada arranged with Mori to wed their children. Mori's son, Motokazu—a graduate of the Medical School of Kyushu Imperial University and a practicing physician in Honolulu—would be a perfect match, they felt, for Harada's third daughter, Misao. The latter, then nineteen, had attended the newly built Tokyo Christian Women's College before coming to Hawai'i with her family. As noted above, an impressive wedding ceremony was held at Central Union Church.<sup>89</sup>

The third in the triumverate of Harada's close Japanese associates in Hawai'i was the Reverend Takie Okumura, pastor of Makiki Japanese Christian Church since 1902. Okumura had founded one of the first Japanese language schools in Honolulu, helped start the Nu'u-anu YMCA, and started a boarding house for Japanese students. From the late 1920s until the outbreak of the war, he was the leading figure in the Americanization movement among nisei in Hawai'i. During the war, he was interned on the U.S. mainland. In 1946, he returned to Hawai'i, where he lived until his death in 1951.<sup>90</sup>

Okumura was born in Tosa domain—today's Kochi Prefecture—on the southern coastline of Shikoku in the late Tokugawa period.

After a childhood in Tosa, he went to Kyoto to attend school at Doshisha and converted to Christianity in 1889. From 1890 to 1894 he attended Doshisha's Theological School and received his divinity degree. After ordination as a minister, he preached in Kusatsu in Gumma Prefecture and at Omi in Shiga Prefecture, where he built a church. In August 1894, he came to Honolulu to assist the Reverend Jiro Okabe at Nu'uaniu Christian Church. In his eight years at Nu'uaniu, the church's membership grew to almost four hundred—the largest Japanese Christian group in the Islands—and became financially independent of the Hawaiian Board. In 1903, Okumura left the Nu'uaniu Church to start a new church in the Makiki area. It grew in size until it overtook the Nu'uaniu Church. It is noteworthy for its unique architecture, which resembles a medieval Japanese castle.<sup>91</sup>

Along with Harada, Soga, and Mori, Okumura played a leading role in advocating moderation during the Hawai'i Japanese language school controversy of the 1920s, an explosive political issue that dominated Island affairs throughout the decade. At the heart of the issue was the perception of a future "Japanese takeover" by the upcoming nisei generation, who, many of the white and Hawaiian elite felt, were being "Japanized" by their Japanese school teachers. Their loyalty as Americans—and their ability to assimilate and imbibe American values and lifestyles—were strongly questioned. In the fervent climate of American nativism after World War I, this fear was fed by similar agitation on the U.S. mainland, where a powerful anti-Japanese movement gained momentum.

Laws passed by the Hawai'i territorial legislature to control the Japanese language schools were challenged in the U.S. courts beginning in 1922. After several years of escalation and much heated debate, the case was brought to a head by Fred Kinzaburo Makino, publisher of the *Hawaii Hoshi*, another Japanese-language newspaper, who challenged the legality of the laws. In 1927, the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court, where the Hawaiian legislation was ruled unconstitutional.<sup>92</sup>

The Japanese language school controversy divided the Japanese community into those who supported the restrictive laws and those who opposed them. Harada was aligned with the former group as were Soga, Mori, and Okumura. They felt that rather than challenge

the restrictions, it would be wiser to compromise and accommodate to the current realities.<sup>93</sup> The problem as they saw it would only be aggravated by taking a defiant stand. In their views, gradualism—a slow amelioration of the conditions Japanese faced—was the wiser policy. After the Supreme Court decision, all of them backed Okumura's "New Americanization" program, which entailed a vigorous effort to instill mainstream American values among the *nisei*. This program continued until the eve of the Pacific War.<sup>94</sup>

#### PROMOTER OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

A major problem exacerbating U.S.-Japan relations while Harada was at the university was the issue of Japanese immigration into Hawai'i and the West Coast. Japanese immigrants to North America, though few during the earlier years, increased rapidly after the turn of the century. In 1908 alone, more than thirty thousand Japanese immigrated to North America. Irritated by the presence of visible strangers, California's voters initiated local measures to protect themselves against the unwanted aliens, whom they saw as "unassimilable" and feared as economic competitors. They pressured the federal government into signing a "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan that limited the number of Japanese allowed to enter the country. A few years later, the state passed the Alien Land Law, which forbade Japanese immigrants from owning land. In the 1920s, tougher laws were passed to further strengthen the barriers.<sup>95</sup>

To combat anti-Japanese discrimination and prejudice in the United States, enlightened business and civic leaders established nongovernmental organizations on both sides of the Pacific. An American-Japanese Relations Committee, located in San Francisco and headed by Wallace Alexander, with Chamber of Commerce people forming its core, was organized in 1909. In 1916, following a visit to the San Francisco World Exposition, which commemorated the Panama Canal opening the year before, Eiichi Shibusawa, a leading business and industrial figure in Japan, initiated a counterpart organization, the Japanese-American Relations Committee, which was headquartered in Tokyo.<sup>96</sup>

The Japanese-America Relations Committee was made up of

twenty-seven elite Japanese leaders from various walks of life. They included zaibatsu figures, academics, military men, and religious leaders. Among this distinguished group were Buei Nakano and Toranosuke Fukukawa, who ranked among the wealthiest men in Japan; military men such as Admiral Uryu, who had studied at the Naval Academy, and Count Kentaro Kaneko, a friend of Theodore Roosevelt; academic figures such as Professor Inazo Nitobe, well-known internationalist and author of the best-selling book, *Bushido, the Soul of Japan*, and Professor Masaharu Anezaki of Tokyo Imperial University, a leading authority on Buddhism who had lectured for two years at Harvard University. These men shared a common trait: they all had deep connections to the United States. Through Shibusawa's leadership, they were brought together to help alleviate cross-cultural friction between the two countries.<sup>97</sup>

Because of Harada's reputation in Christian circles abroad, his impeccable English skills, and his first-hand knowledge of the situation of the Japanese in America, he was singled out for a delicate diplomatic task.<sup>98</sup> As noted, prior to leaving for Hawai'i with his family in July 1920, he was called to Tokyo by Shibusawa and asked to act as a cultural mediator and advisor about exploring ways to improve the situation of Japanese immigrants in California, the place where the problems were worst.<sup>99</sup> To carry out these tasks, Harada spent several months in the United States, sounding out the views of knowledgeable Americans. He also selected five hundred people to whom he sent questionnaires asking their opinions on the Japanese immigration problem. He analyzed the replies and drafted his report.<sup>100</sup> For this work, he was invited to be a member of Shibusawa's prestigious committee.

Harada had close ties with two nongovernmental international institutions that had originated in Hawai'i during the 1910s and 1920s. The first was the Pan-Pacific Union (PPU) and the second was the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR). These two pioneering organizations were independent of one another, but both were committed to the same humanistic philosophy of mutual understanding. They often cooperated with each other, and their membership overlapped.<sup>101</sup>

The PPU was dominated by its colorful founder and long-time

director, Alexander Hume Ford. Born in South Carolina, he came to Hawai'i in 1907 and became involved with many different activities over the years. He helped found the Outrigger Canoe Club, the Hawaiian Trail and Mountain Club, and the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club. In 1911, the latter group sponsored a Pacific-wide conference with delegates coming from far-flung areas of the Pacific, the Americas, and Asia. This meeting resulted in the establishment of *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, which Ford edited and published. In later years, it became the main organ of the PPU.<sup>102</sup>

In August 1921, the PPU held an International Educational Conference attended by eighty delegates from the major countries of the Pacific. That same year, it held an International Media Conference, and in 1922, it sponsored an International Commercial Conference. In 1928 and 1930, the First and Second International Women's Conferences were held in Honolulu under PPU auspices. Harada attended all of them. He was also a regular at Pan-Pacific Union luncheon meetings held in downtown Honolulu.<sup>103</sup>

Harada's involvement with the IPR was deeper and more focused than his PPU connection. The IPR had historical roots in the desires of Hawai'i's leaders to have the Islands play a more conspicuous role in the international relations of that day. Blessed by geography as a natural crossroads between East and West, it was felt that the Islands' mission lay in bringing people together.<sup>104</sup> Frank C. Atherton and Charles F. Loomis, community-minded YMCA leaders in Honolulu, conceived the idea of conferences and face-to-face meetings—much like the PPU—to discuss mutual political, economic, social, and cultural problems of the Pacific region.

Consulting with concerned leaders elsewhere, they developed the idea from a purely YMCA function into a more ambitious and independent undertaking. By 1927 a permanent, self-governing organization with an international secretariat, headquartered in Honolulu, and national councils in the United States, Canada, China, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and Great Britain had been established. During Harada's stay in Hawai'i, four IPR conferences were held: the first in Honolulu in 1925, a second in 1927 also Honolulu, the third in Kyoto in 1929, and the fourth in Hangchow in 1931. Harada attended the first three but not the fourth.<sup>105</sup>

From the very beginning, Harada played a central role in IPR planning. He was a member of the Honolulu-based Central Executive Committee, chaired by Atherton, which oversaw the initial conference in 1925. At that conference, he gave the opening convocation.<sup>106</sup>

In the following years, Harada contributed regularly to the *News Bulletin* of the IPR, published by the international secretariat. In the January 1927 issue, for example, he wrote a small piece titled "Some of My Impressions of the Far East" in which he expressed views of recent developments in China following his visit there.<sup>107</sup> In the June–July issue, he contributed an article called "National Characteristics of the Japanese" in which he summarized Japanese values in seven categories: love of nature, love of simplicity, love of harmony, the Golden Mean, adaptability, taciturnity, and loyalty.<sup>108</sup> These jottings summarized his interpretation of Japan and the Japanese to the wider world. These ideas are more fully developed in his book, *Faith of Japan*.<sup>109</sup>

Harada prepared a report for the second IPR conference titled "The Social Status of the Japanese in Hawaii: Some of the Problems Confronting the Second Generation," which remains valuable for immigration scholars to this day. In this report, he succinctly articulated his perception of nisei in Hawai'i in the years immediately after the passage of the U.S. General Immigration Act in 1924 and outlined what he felt the future held for them.<sup>110</sup>

Harada directed his attention to nisei education in Hawai'i. They were, he felt, becoming fully American in their values through the public school system. He found that schools fostered a "wholesome spirit of inter-racial good will" and observed that "there is little race prejudice in the minds of these growing youngsters." They represented, he concluded, a "glorious promise of the potential possibilities . . . as workers for international understanding and good-will."<sup>111</sup> He saw the public schools preparing qualified nisei for higher education as he had met so many talented and ambitious young people in his work at the university. However, he acknowledged the economic difficulties posed by limited vocational and professional opportunities. Race-based institutional barriers hindered opportunities for economic advancement. Still he did not advocate reforms of these

inequalities; rather, like Soga and Okumura, he counseled students to respect and appreciate all kinds of work. "Too many of our young people," he observed, "grow up with a distaste for manual labor; to them nothing can be satisfactory short of a position in some office, even as a stenographer. We must train the young people to look on all work as having a dignity and usefulness of its own."<sup>112</sup>

Such conservative views now appear tainted with self-righteous pontificating and sermonizing, and at least one contemporary scholar has remarked on this. His views are more sensible, however, when understood within the context of their times.<sup>113</sup> Employment opportunities were limited, and Harada was a realist. He was advocating neither passivity nor satisfaction with the status-quo. To illustrate, in the very next paragraph of the report, he argued that

... for those who are mentally equipped for higher education no discouragement should be given. Trade, agriculture, engineering, pedagogy—these are unlimited fields of work and service in the countries and islands of the Pacific. The second generation Japanese can be especially valuable in this regard, because of their ability to use the two languages. In the work of establishing firmer ties of understanding through information and education, they can render great service.<sup>114</sup>

On the social front, Harada was optimistic that the nisei would fully assimilate. Though he acknowledged that factors such as religious differences and language schools established along racial lines tended to promote segregation, he saw a general trend toward freer intermingling among the different ethnic groups. He also commented on the phenomenon of intermarriage, citing data from the Hawai'i Bureau of Vital Statistics to show that more nisei were marrying outside their group. Still he cautiously reserved judgment: "[W]hether or not a new race, which will bridge the chasm of racial differences, may spring forth out of these intermarriages is yet to be determined."<sup>115</sup>

A religious man and a moralist, Harada could not help but comment on the moral and ethical problems that he saw among Hawai'i's nisei. He observed that though they suffered from conflicting value systems, these conflicts and confusions were transient ones. The core of his views on this question lie in the following statement:



[The nisei] are coming to realize that it is neither the new moral standard of America, nor the way of the samurai of yore that will be adopted by these new citizens of America. It will probably be a combination of the best elements of the two. Tendencies toward this end are very apparent. There is a growing sense of respect among the Hawaiian-born for their heritage and Japanese characteristics along with an increasing eagerness to study American ideals and institutions.<sup>116</sup>

These statements reflect Harada's unflinching and optimistic sense of the future for the Japanese in Hawai'i. They would find, he believed, an inextricable place for themselves in this new land, while retaining an ethnic identity to their ancestral homeland. Although severe trials and travails would arise, retrospect shows the sixty-six years since he left the Islands have fulfilled his hopes and predictions.

#### CONCLUSION

Harada was forced to retire from the university in 1932 because of ailing health. At the school's September 1932 commencement, he was honored, in absentia, with a LL.D. degree. This honorary doctorate—Harada's third—was only the second given by the university, the first having been conferred on Sanford B. Dole, president of the Republic of Hawai'i. Harada returned that winter to Kyoto, where he lived out the rest of his life as an invalid. He passed away quietly on February 21, 1940. In an obituary the following day, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* paid homage to his contributions to Hawai'i and summarized his many accomplishments and contributions to better international relations between peoples of East and West.<sup>117</sup>

A large portrait of Harada hung on one wall of the Oriental Room of the university's library at the time of his death. It was put there by President Crawford in 1932 after Harada had donated it to the school "as a token of his appreciation for the many happy years of association with the faculty and students of the institution."<sup>118</sup> Throughout the 1930s, the portrait gazed down upon students studying in that room. It was quietly removed sometime during the war years and its whereabouts now is unknown.

Shortly after Harada's death, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. The ensuing war had manifold consequences for Japanese in Hawai'i.

The Pacific war ravaged a large part of the memory of the experience of prewar Japanese in Hawai'i.<sup>119</sup> In an ardent attempt to justify full loyalty to the United States, cutting all ties with Japan became momentarily imperative. One victim of this amnesia was Tasuku Harada. He became a forgotten man. This is unfortunate for his work was important in his day, and the ideals that motivated it continue to be so. Harada surely deserves more recognition in the discourse on contemporary Hawaiian history.

## NOTES

The authors wish to thank Professor Paul F. Hooper for carefully reading this manuscript and meticulously helping with the editing.

<sup>1</sup> Robert M. Kamins and Robert E. Potter, *Mālamalama: A History of the University of Hawaii* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1998) 20, 148.

<sup>2</sup> Paul F. Hooper, ed., *Recollections of the IPR: Proceedings of the First International Research Conference on the Institute of Pacific Relations*, Occasional Paper No. 2 (Honolulu: Center for the Arts and Humanities, U of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> *HSB* Feb. 22, 1940.

<sup>4</sup> *Harada Tasuku Isshu* (Collected Writings of Harada Tasuku), edited by Harada Ken (Tokyo: Printed for private circulation, 1971). Hereafter cited as *Isshu*. All Japanese names in the text are written in Western style—that is, surname last. However, the Japanese convention of surname first is used in the notes. Macrons have been omitted from Japanese words.

<sup>5</sup> Sidney L. Gulick, "A Biographical Sketch of Tasuku Harada, D.D., LL.D."; also Kensuke Kawachi, "Additional Sketch." Reprinted in *Isshu* 500–12.

<sup>6</sup> This discussion of Harada's work at the University of Hawai'i is based on Ota Masao, "Harada Tasuku to Hawaii Daigaku," *Kirisutokyo Shakai Mondai Kenkyu* (Kyoto, Jan. 20, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> *Isshu* 500.

<sup>8</sup> F. G. Notehelfer, *American Samurai: Captain L. L. Janes and Japan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1985).

<sup>9</sup> "Kumamoto Band," in *Nihon Kirisutokyo Shi*, ed. Gono Takashi (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1990).

<sup>10</sup> Otis Cary, "Nijima Jo," in *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha 1983) 5: 386; also, Jerome D. Davis, *A Sketch of the Life of Reverend Joseph Hardy Neejima* (Kyoto: Doshisha U, 1890).

<sup>11</sup> Cary, "Nijima Jo" 386.

<sup>12</sup> Harada Tasuku, *The Faith of Japan* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1914).

<sup>13</sup> *Isshu* 502.

<sup>14</sup> *Isshu* 502.

<sup>15</sup> *Isshu* 504. Incomplete diary entries contained in this volume.

- <sup>16</sup> Doshisha Daigaku, ed., *Doshisha hyakunen shi* [A Hundred-Year History of Doshisha University] (Kyoto: Doshisha U, 1971) 549.
- <sup>17</sup> *Doshisha hyakunen shi* 768–80, 780–88.
- <sup>18</sup> "William R. Castle," in *Men of Hawaii*, ed. George F. Nellist (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1935) 5: 127–28; Okumura Takie, "Hawaii," in *Kirisutokyo Sekai* [Christian World], 1404 (Aug. 4, 1910).
- <sup>19</sup> Mary Denton, "Reminiscences of Dr. Harada," *Isshu* 536.
- <sup>20</sup> William Hutchison, *Errand to the World* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1987).
- <sup>21</sup> *Isshu* 170.
- <sup>22</sup> *Isshu* 176.
- <sup>23</sup> *Isshu* 181–84.
- <sup>24</sup> *Nippu Jiji* Feb. 2, 8, 1911.
- <sup>25</sup> "Doremus Scudder," in *Who Was Who in America* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis, 1950) 2: 476.
- <sup>26</sup> *Nippu Jiji* Feb. 8, 10, 1911.
- <sup>27</sup> *Doshisha Dangyo*, 5 (Kyoto, Jan. 1985), 182–87, 190. "William Westervelt," in *Men of Hawaii* (Honolulu, Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1921) 2: 416–17.
- <sup>28</sup> *Isshu* 211.
- <sup>29</sup> *Isshu* 212.
- <sup>30</sup> Oscar E. Maurer and Nelson C. Drier, *Missionaries to Statehood in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Evangelical Association of Congregational Churches, 1961).
- <sup>31</sup> *Rakuen Jiho*, 19: 4 (Mar. 5, 1920).
- <sup>32</sup> *Isshu* 212.
- <sup>33</sup> Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865–1945* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1991) 70–76; Roland Kotani, *Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* (Honolulu: Hawaii Hochi Ltd., 1985) 48–52.
- <sup>34</sup> *Isshu* 229–30; *Nippu Jiji* Apr. 27, May 26, 1920.
- <sup>35</sup> Marius B. Jansen, "History of Japanese Studies in the United States," *Japanese Studies in the United States, Japanese Studies Series XVII* (Tokyo: Japan Foundation, 1988) 10–11.
- <sup>36</sup> George M. Oshiro, "Asakawa Kanichi and English-Language Research on Japanese Feudal Institutions," *Shakai Kagaku Tokyuu*, 126 (Tokyo: Waseda University, Dec. 1997): 1–11.
- <sup>37</sup> Gordon Chang, *Morning Glory, Evening Shadow: The Internment Writings of Yamato Ichihashi* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1997).
- <sup>38</sup> Ota Masao, *Iyenaga Toyokichi to Meiji Kensei Shiron* (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1996).
- <sup>39</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer, *My Life Between Japan and America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986); Donald Keene, *On Familiar Terms: A Journey Across Cultures* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1994).
- <sup>40</sup> Nancy J. Morris and Robert M. Kamins, "The University of Hawaii: 90 Years of Growth: Chronology-History-Timeline," *Malamalama*, 21: 2 (1997).
- <sup>41</sup> University of Hawai'i, Board of Regents Meeting Minutes, May 6, 1920. Hereafter cited as BORM.
- <sup>42</sup> Tasuku Harada, "The Social Status of the Japanese in Hawaii: Some of the

Problems Confronting the Second Generation." Preliminary Paper, Second Institute of Pacific Relations Conference (Honolulu, July 15-29, 1927) 4.

<sup>43</sup> BORM, Apr. 1, 1920.

<sup>44</sup> Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (1919-1932) 97-110.

<sup>45</sup> BORM, Oct. 6, 1920.

<sup>46</sup> BORM, By-laws, Jan. 1920.

<sup>47</sup> *Isshu* 503, 505.

<sup>48</sup> *Isshu* 229; *Shibusawa Eiichi Denki Shiryo* (Tokyo: Ryumonsha, 1961) 33: 502-03; Michio Yamaoka, "The Role and Activities of the Japanese-American Relations Committee in the Formation of the Japan Pacific Council," in Hooper, *Rediscovering the IPR*.

<sup>49</sup> *Nippu Jiji* Sept. 4, 1920.

<sup>50</sup> *Nippu Jiji* Dec. 9, 1920.

<sup>51</sup> *Isshu* 235-48. Privately printed in English as "The Japanese Problem in California" (1922), rpt. 1971 by R and R Research Associates.

<sup>52</sup> *Nippu Jiji* Feb. 24, 1921; "Register of Officers and Students and Abridged Announcement of Courses," in *University of Hawaii Quarterly Bulletin* (1920). Hereafter cited as *UHQB*.

<sup>53</sup> *UHQB* (supplement), 1929, 10.

<sup>54</sup> BORM, July 12, 1929.

<sup>55</sup> Tasuku Harada and George Tadao Kunitomo, *Introduction to Colloquial Japanese* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i, 1931). A second edition, revised by Yukuo Uyehara, was printed in 1934.

<sup>56</sup> Soga Yasutaro, "Daigaku sei to Nihongo Kenkyukai," in *Gojyu Nenkan no Hawaii Kaiko* (Honolulu: Osaka Kosoku Printing Co., 1953) 410-11; interview with Miya Soga, Feb. 25, 1997.

<sup>57</sup> *Nippu Jiji* Jan. 15, 1923; Masui Masato and Yokoyama Manabu, "Sakamaki Shunzo Purofairu," in *1920 Nendai Hawaii Nikkeijin no Amerika ka no Yoso* (Kyoto: Doshisha Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyu jo, Oct. 1995).

<sup>58</sup> *Nippu Jiji* Sept. 18, 1924.

<sup>59</sup> *Nippu Jiji* Nov. 28, 1924; Chance Gusukuma, "Nisei Daimyo: The Life of Shunzo Sakamaki" (M.A. thesis, U of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1998) 28-29.

<sup>60</sup> "101 Years of Kabuki In Hawaii," Dept. of Theater and Dance, College of Arts and Humanities, U of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1995, 22-25.

<sup>61</sup> Gusukuma, "Nisei Daimyo" 31.

<sup>62</sup> Gusukuma, "Nisei Daimyo" 33-41. Other information on Sakamaki's career at the UH comes from extensive conversations with Dr. Masato Masui, former curator of the Japanese Collection at Hamilton Library, U of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

<sup>63</sup> *Nippu Jiji* June 15, 1929. Biographical information on Uyehara's life is from a letter from him (1997) to Ota Masao.

<sup>64</sup> "Yukuo Uyehara, 93, retired Japanese scholar," *HA* Nov. 5, 1998, B2.

<sup>65</sup> Uyehara Yukuo, *Nikkei Bunka* (Tokyo: Saikosha, 1955) 25.

<sup>66</sup> Uyehara, *Nikkei Bunka*, 22; *Nippu Jiji* Aug. 28, 1934.

- 67 *Nippu Jiji* Jan. 17, 1910; Takenaka Masao, "Doshisha to Hawaii—senzen no koryu wo tazunete," in *Doshisha Amerika Kenkyu* 22 (Kyoto, 1986).
- 68 Gwenfred E. Allen, *Bridge Builders: The Story of Theodore and Mary Atherton Richards* (Honolulu: Honolulu Conference Foundation, 1970).
- 69 *Doshisha Hyakunen Shi, Tsushi hen*, 2: 2024–27. Miwa Akamatsu, an M.A. student at Doshisha University, is completing a thesis on the Friend Peace Scholarship. Our thanks to Chieko Tachihata for putting us into contact with Ms. Akamatsu.
- 70 Soga, *Gojyuu Nenkan no Hawaii Kaiko* 330–33; Chieko Tachihata, "The History and Development of Hawaii Public Libraries: The Library of Hawaii and Hawaii State Library, 1913–1971" (diss., U of Southern California, 1981) 164.
- 71 *103 Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association* (Honolulu, 1925) 26. Reports between 1922 and 1932 list Harada's committee activities.
- 72 *Isshu* 505.
- 73 Harada served as editor for the *Kirusutokyo Shimbun* and the *Rikugo Zasshi*, both very influential Christian media, before going to Doshisha as president. *Isshu* 503–04.
- 74 Interview with Miya (Harada) Soga, Feb. 25, 1997.
- 75 Iioka Orinojo, ed., "Mori Misao" (privately printed, 1928). Information on the Mori family gathered from an interview with Dr. Victor Mori, Feb. 3, 1997.
- 76 *Nippu Jiji* Aug. 29, 1932. Also, interview with Miya (Harada) Soga, Honolulu, Feb. 25, 1997.
- 77 Harada, "The Social Status of the Japanese in Hawaii" 4.
- 78 Watanabe Shichiro, *Hawaii Rekishi* (Tokyo: Kyougakkai Kyoikubu, 1935).
- 79 Soga, *Gojyu Nenkan no Hawaii Kaiko*.
- 80 "Yasutaro Soga," in *The Story of Hawaii and its Builders*, ed. George F. Nellist (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1925) 777–79; also see the revised editions, *Men of Hawaii* (1935), 398–99; *Men and Women of Hawaii* (1954), 607–08.
- 81 Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1988), quotes extensively from Soga's *Gojyu Nenkan Hawaii no Kaiko*. Chiyo Yanagida, "The Japanese Language School Issue in Hawaii, 1919–1927" (M.A. thesis, U of Hawai'i at Manoa) deals with the *Nippu Jiji*'s stance on the Japanese language issue. Eileen Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1994), and Okihiro, *Cane Fires*, discuss Soga briefly in several different contexts.
- 82 Yasutaro (Keiho) Soga, *Poets Behind Barbed Wire: Tanka Poems*, trans. Jiro and Kay Nakano (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge P, 1983).
- 83 "Soga Shigeo," in *Men and Women of Hawaii*, ed. Perry E. Hilleary (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1954) 606–07.
- 84 "Mori, Iga," in *Men of Hawaii*, ed. John W. Siddall (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1921) 2: 289. A biographical sketch, with photograph, is on the Internet at <http://hml.org/mmhc/mdindex/morii.html>. This is a version of *In Memoriam—Doctors of Hawaii*, Hawaii Medical Library.
- 85 Eriko Yamamoto, "The Evolution of an Ethnic Hospital in Hawaii: An Analysis

- of Ethnic Processes of Japanese Americans in Honolulu Through the Development of the Kuakini Medical Center" (diss., U of Hawai'i, 1988).
- <sup>86</sup> Tamura, *Americanization* 129, 150.
- <sup>87</sup> We are aware of only one Japanese article devoted to Iga Mori: Ozawa Kichisaburo, "Heiwa Jigyo ni Hansei wo Sasageru—Sekai teki Ronin Mori Iga Shi," in *Yuben* (Kodansha, Nov. 1925): 262–65.
- <sup>88</sup> Iga Mori, *Diaries, 1933–1951*, two reels, in private collection of Dr. Victor Mori, which he catalogued and made accessible for us.
- <sup>89</sup> Iioka Orinojo, ed., "Mori Misao" (privately printed, 1928); interview with Dr. Victor Mori, Honolulu, Feb. 3, 1997.
- <sup>90</sup> "Okumura, Takie," in *The Story of Hawaii and Its Builders*, ed. George F. Nellist, (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1925) 681; Shimada Noriko, "Okamura Takie to Shibusawa Eiichi: Nichi-Bei kankei kara mita Hawai ni okeru hainichi yobo keihatsu undo," in *Nihon Joshi Daigaku Kiyo*, Bungakubu, 43 (Tokyo, 1994) 39–56.
- <sup>91</sup> Makiki Christian Church, 75th Anniversary, 1904–1979.
- <sup>92</sup> Okita Yukuji, "Harada Tasuku no Kokusai Shugi Kyoiku Ron," in *Hawai Nikkei Imin no Kyoiku Shi* (Tokyo: Mineruva Shobo, 1997); Tamura, *Americanization* 146–61.
- <sup>93</sup> Tamura, *Americanization* 150.
- <sup>94</sup> Tamura, *Americanization* 129–30; Okihiro, *Cane Fires* 159–62.
- <sup>95</sup> Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (New York: Free Press, 1988).
- <sup>96</sup> Yamaoka, "The Role and Activities of the Japanese-American Relations Committee" 39–40.
- <sup>97</sup> Kyugoro Obata, *An Interpretation of the Life of Viscount Shibusawa* (Tokyo: Tokyo Insatsu Kabushiki Kaisha, 1937), 212–14.
- <sup>98</sup> *Isshu* 316–18.
- <sup>99</sup> Shibusawa Eiichi *Denki Shiryo*, 33: 501–08; *Isshu* 234.
- <sup>100</sup> Tasuku Harada, *The Japanese Problem in California* (San Francisco, privately printed); rpt. 1971 by R. and R. Research Associates.
- <sup>101</sup> *Institute of Pacific Relations News Bulletin* (Honolulu, June–July 1927) 12.
- <sup>102</sup> Alexander Hume Ford, "Sketch History of the Pan-Pacific Union," *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, 176 (Oct.–Dec. 1935): 381–85. Valerie Noble, *Hawaiian Prophet: Alexander Hume Ford* (Smithtown, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1980) 137–38.
- <sup>103</sup> *Isshu* 552.
- <sup>104</sup> Paul F. Hooper, *Elusive Destiny: The Internationalist Movement in Modern Hawaii* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1980) 105–51.
- <sup>105</sup> *Isshu* 510.
- <sup>106</sup> Proceedings for 1925 Institute of Pacific Relations Meeting (Honolulu, 1925).
- <sup>107</sup> Tasuku Harada, *Institute of Pacific Relations News Bulletin* (Honolulu, Jan. 1927) 3–5.
- <sup>108</sup> Tasuku Harada, "National Characteristics of the Japanese," *Institute of Pacific Relations News Bulletin* (Honolulu, June–July 1927) 1–5.

- 109 Tasuku Harada, *The Faith of Japan* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1914).
- 110 Harada, "The Social Status of the Japanese in Hawaii."
- 111 Harada, "The Social Status of the Japanese in Hawaii" 6.
- 112 Harada, "The Social Status of the Japanese in Hawaii" 6-7.
- 113 Tamura, *Americanization* 131.
- 114 Harada, "The Social Status of the Japanese in Hawaii" 8.
- 115 Harada, "The Social Status of the Japanese in Hawaii" 8.
- 116 Harada, "The Social Status of the Japanese in Hawaii" 10.
- 117 *HSB* Feb. 22, 1940.
- 118 *HSB* Feb. 22, 1940.
- 119 John Stephan, "Hijacked by Utopia: American Nikkei in Manchuria," *Amerasia Journal*, 23:3 (1997): 1-42, provides a missing piece in the experience of Hawai'i's Japanese.

